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The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Moldova in the Contest of International Relations

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Abstract:

The changes which take place on the picture make international relations to include virtually all spheres of social life – from those politico-commercial to those cultural and sportive. Relations between states, international organizations, NGOs and other actors are pursued through foreign policy. Moldova's foreign policy, as an organic part of its state policy is important and closely linked to the option key social modernization and European integration. It reflects the state to ensure safe and stable society and the state ability to provide life and living conditions of its citizens, to safeguard the rights and freedoms of every member of society, to create prerequisites and conditions for the development of member state, as well as international communities. This means safeguarding the internal and external danger core values, material resources, intellectual and moral existence, as well as the constitutional order and state sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. This article is focused on the analysis of the main theories of international relations and foreign policy, as well as Moldova's activity within different international organizations.

Keywords:

Foreign policy, International Relations, Republic of Moldova, Foreign policy, Researchers, conceptual

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Conceptual and theoretical aspects of international relations

The many political, economic and social changes in the last decades of the XXth century – the beginning of the XXIst century, has changed dramatically the world picture and led to the obvious transformation of international relations (Hlihor, 2000:15-20). Currently, international relations include virtually all spheres of social life – from those commercial to cultural and sportive. Also, the actors have the same interests which belong to states, nongovernmental organizations. In contemporary literature of international relations Roman-Germanic etymon language, are often seen as political relations, as the sphere of interest and activity of states, as the sphere of relations of power and influence.

Thus, international relations can be addressed as: the totality of economic, political, ideological, legal, diplomatic relations, between states and systems of states; between the major social, economic and political forces; organizations and social movements activating in the international arena. Another definition of international relations is appreciated as relations between states and non-governmental organizations; political parties, companies, individuals from different countries. Trying to escape the boundaries of interstate relations, international relations are to be seen as the “totality of integrationist relations, which are formed in human society”. Such an interpretation, however, highlights the question of international relations aimed to participants or actors.

Often, in the literature of specialty the actors of international relations are considered as a starting point of research in this field. Thus, according to P. Aron, international relations are relations between political units since the concept includes Greek polishes, Roman and Egypt empires, but also the European monarchies, bourgeois republics or popular democracies. The content of international relations involves, first of all, relations between states. Also, according to researcher, international relations, due to its nature and content, also means peace or war relations. The peculiarities of international relations imply the possibility of either, and therefore contain an element of risk. Based on these assumptions, P. Aron considers international relations as a “natural” condition of society (Wight, 1998:87).

In the international relations sphere dominates the “pluralism of sovereignties” and therefore, there is no monopoly on violence, each participant of international relations, in its actions and behavior is clear from the behavior of other actors. Similar ideas are submitted and by other researchers, highlighting the fact that international relations are characterized by lack of consensus among participants with reference to common values, but according to certain rules, reinforced by moral and legal norms, lack of central power.

However, against to his ideas of P. Aron, there are G. Caporaso (Kissinger, 1998:227), who believes that the main actors in the contemporary world of international relations are not states, but social economic groups and political forces. D. Synger, the representative of behaviorist school, propose to study the behavior of all participants of international relations – from individual to global community. D. Rosenau forward the idea that, structural changes, that have taken place in recent decades from world politics have become the main causes of relations between peoples and communities, have contributed to the transformations of these relations. The main actor is, in this case, not the state, but people, individuals. The result of changes in the sphere of international relations is the formation of so-called continuity (Lonsdale, 1999:36).

Thus, from these interpretations, international relations can be classified on the basis of the social-economic, political, strategic-military, cultural, ideological, or depending on the participants - international relations, relations between the parties, organizations, and transnational corporations. Depending on the level and intensity of international relations there can be highlighted differences of the high, low or medium level. A classification of levels of international relations has been based on geopolitical criteria: global (or planetary), regional (European, Asian), sub regional (Vlad, 2001:19-20).

Theoretical school of liberalism is one of the oldest in international relations theory. Researchers of this paradigm fundaments their theoretical conceptions based on the works of J. Locke, Im. Kant, J.-J.Rousseau, J. Mill, A. Smith, D. Ricardo. The liberal concepts in international relations theory have experienced periods of boom – from the beginning and end of the twentieth century. Liberalism is bound with the name of the 28th U.S. president – W. Wilson, who started the work on the open foreign policy and diplomacy, the same orientation in foreign policy after the democratic principles of mutual relations, cooperation and morality.

Liberal conceptions on human nature differ from the realists. They show human tendency toward cooperation, peace, based on the principles of justice and morality (that is why the concept is called idealism). Liberals stresses the need to develop values oriented towards unification of humanity, is against militarism; promote international free trade idea; expressed for “open diplomacy”.

- The main thesis of classical liberalism reduces to the following:
- Man, by nature, is not aggressive, being prone to collaboration.
- War is the result of inconsistencies between states, nations that can be solved by joint efforts.
- The international community should recognize the need of international institutions as a mean of prevention armed conflicts.

- States must rebuild their political systems, such as democratic governance within each country to contribute to peace and stability to develop interstate cooperation.
- On the international arena there act not only factors of force, but also of other measures, such as economic and moral.

After the end of the Cold War, during which the theory of international relations there have been prevailed realists and neorealist, it was again established the liberal school age. This direction changes, due to new realities, in neoliberalism. Neoliberals emphasize the correlation between politics and economics; as particularly limiting, at the end of the XXth century, of military force. Neoliberals accept the role of the state in the world arena, but believe that this is not the sole actor. Along with states, in contemporary world intergovernmental, universal, regional, specialized organizations act according to the field of activity, as well as NGOs, etc (Onişoru, 2007:76).

Theoretical school of political realism derived from the works of thinkers such as: Thucydides, N. Machiavelli, Th. Hobbes etc. Among its representatives there are also E. Carr, G. Kennan, H. Morgenthau, R. Niebuhr, and K. W. Thomson. Realism - the current of international relations theory. It appeared in the first half of the twentieth century, as a critical of moral and Utopian concepts in politics, who ignored the realities of international arena. According to political realism, the essence of international relations is determined by the absence of general rules, of a control center.

Adherents of political realism argue that the main actor in international relations is the state, whose policy in this area is driven by national interests. The state, whose interests are constantly subjected to threats, has to pay particular attention to its own security, mobilizing the principal means - diplomacy and strategy - to achieve national interests. According to the realist vision, the most effective means of ensuring peace is the balance of power that has emerged not only as a result of collision of national interests and culture of unity, mutual respect for the rights of each and agreement on principles governing basic humanity. Realism was popular during the 40s-70s of the twentieth century; it reflects the realities of the Second World War, and then – the Cold War. The main theses of classical realism are reduced to the following:

- International relations are the interaction of states, which by their essence are homogeneous.
- State interactions are performed chaotic, since there is no power, a center of power of the state. As a result, international relations are “anarchic”.

- The main goal of the activity states in the international arena is the tendency to have priority, to prevail, especially in the military, which guarantees the security of states.
- States are leaded first of all by their own interests. Especially the interests' category defends them upon speculative abuse on morality.
- The political reality differs from the economic policy; for the policy the main issue is power, while for the economy - welfare.
- In international relations, where the power factor dominates, states must always be prepared at the highest level, to contradictions (Monbrial, 2003:87).

By the early of '80s political realism paradigm has undergone some changes. Following the theoretical and methodological review, embodied in the critique of K. Waltz, it appeared neoliberalism. Waltz based his scientific conclusions on deductive method, indicating that the old realist theses have to be modified in scientific theory.

Currently, on the basis of neomarxism it is fixed the belief in the human progress with the development of capitalism, the need for demarcation of the interests of the rich countries by the poorest ones- of the North by South. Therefore, there have been proposed some theoretical explanations, which are quite apart from the Leninist approach of developing global capitalism and imperialist contradictions; it's about dependency theory, the theory of structural inequality, the world system theory.

These characteristics confirm that each paradigm proposes answers to various problems, use their arguments to their explanation, draw a lot of categories and methodological means. They can be used in daily practice.

2. Foreign policy approaches

So far, researchs in this field did not give a generally accepted a theory accepted unanimously of foreign policy, with its own object of study, research methods and device categories. In the literature of speciality there have been crystallized several theories within the current.

Depending on the author, the notion of foreign policy acquires a different meaning or a specific colour. From the representatives of the traditionalist current, "the foreign policy of the state manifests itself as a whole, as determined by history, which may not be quantified".

Thus, representatives of political realism (H. Morgenthau, R. Aron, J. Kennan, P. Osgud, A. Wallferce) foreign policy of the state is the main element of the international system. Although they didn't draw attention to the complex and ambivalent nature of foreign policy, they highlight its connections with the

internal politics and international life, with psychology and organization theory, with the economic and social structure, etc. This approach has provided to critics of political realism – the advocates of modernist theories – a vivid research field of political activity outside the states, focusing on some methods specific to sociology, psychology, economics, mathematics, anthropology, computer science, etc (Fisichella, 2000:39).

In these approaches, it deserves to be noticed the methods used by systems theories: the method of modeling, situational method and structure functional analysis, game theory, etc. These have provided by adherents of systemic approach (D. Singer, Q. Wright, K. Deutsch, T. Shelling, etc.) using the opportunity to check their own assumptions in forecasting foreign policy, based on empirical researches, deductive considerations, internal-external correlations, and to carry out a systematization of the factors influencing the international guidelines of governments to create appropriate database and investigate the processes of making foreign policy decisions (Hobsbawn, 1999:12).

The application of systems theory meant a step forward both in theory, and also in methodology in the study of international relations as a result of the country give up to approaches "centripetal" within international relations, conceived as an "amount" of foreign policies of states. Another merit of the followers of this theory lies in expanding the number of actors in the international system by including (with states) the international organizations, political parties, religious movements and transnational economic organizations. In the 60s of the twentieth century, in the U.S. there appears more works in the field. According to D. Singer, foreign policy can be explored from two perspectives: 1) internal influences, that take place within state borders and 2) external influences, outside its borders.

A particular impetus to the systemic approach is known also the cyber communications theory, an outstanding representative of which is K. Deutsch. Explaining the cybernetic approach to foreign policy, Deutsch K. resembled a game of pool. His theory is criticized by French researchers of international relations, P. F. Gonidec and R. Charvin, which notes that, unlike physics, in international life encountered obstacles by subjects may be caused not only by direct influences (predictable), but also by hidden influences (interests).

Directions and analysis levels of modernist theory were diversified in the measure of democratizing the principles of scientific research. It became increasingly obvious to separate them according to two criteria: methodological and theoretical level. However, operation with theoretical categories that can be verified empirically lead to conducting researches, characterized by reductionism, and fragmentation of the objects of study and de facto by the denial of the specific foreign policy and international relations.

Of the over 30 theories appeared within the modernist current (behavioral) in the 60s of the twentieth century, there deserves to be mentioned: the theory of international conflicts, integration theory and the foreign policy in decision-making theory (or the theory of foreign policy). Thus, the research process in foreign policy in decision-making is considered both in terms of methodology, as a principle of foreign policy analysis, and also on the level of theoretical construction, with its own subject of study. This is one of the main reasons that the issue of foreign policy-making continues to make the subject of study numerous particular theories, in the absence of a comprehensive meta-theory.

Following the spread of behavioral theory and the theory of "rational decisions" (based on the theory of "game"), in the '70s in the U.S. it was spread the concept "bureaucratic process of making decisions of foreign policy". Representatives of this concept consider that the actions of foreign policy are represented as the result of interaction of different state structures and of compromise of interests. Noting the role that has the bureaucracy in this process, followers of this concept chose the object of analysis of decision-making process, absolutizing its importance.

A more complex model of decision-making process in the field of foreign policy has been developed by British researcher -J. Burton. Advocate of the structuralist-functional current in order of analyzing foreign policy he introduced the scheme "stimulus-response". This model is based on the so-called "change factors" (primary and secondary) which act outside the Border States. In his view, the primary vectors (factors) would be represented geographically, geologically, by biosphere, and those secondary appears as a result of secondary social interaction (the social groups). Also, in analysis of the process of decision making of foreign policy a growing application fires a theory is "based on some methods which are simulators, and the theory of zero and nonzero-sum game".

With reference to researches conducted in the last decades of the twentieth century in foreign policy sphere, international relations theory scholars admit failure in creating a meta-theory. Despite this, the researcher J. Rosenau proposes a "proto-theory" of foreign policy, in which factors that influence on it form a global system. Thus, Rosenau proposes five variables linking foreign policy of the state with the international relations system, as follows:

- elite (personality) policy;
- elite role in developing foreign policy;
- governmental factors affecting political behavior externally;
- social, economic, cultural, ethical, development factors influencing actions internally and externally;

- relations between states and international factors influencing foreign policy (geographical factor, the size of the state, ideology, etc.).

J. Rosenau separated factors influencing foreign policy: external (related to international system) and internal (government, society, the political elite). Although the Rosenau's "proto-theory" doesn't represent a paradigm which would explain foreign policy of states, his concept brings new elements in foreign policy theory because of interconnections of internal-external systems which identify them (Rosenau, 1996:65).

A more detailed concept in determining internal and external factors that contributes to formation foreign policy is proposed by M. R. Djalili and Ph. Braillard on the basis of four approaches of the decisions' making. Among the internal factors there are mentioned: the physical (geographical situation of the state, its natural resources and demographic situation), structural factors (political institutions, economic organizations, resources, etc.), and the cultural and human factors (culture, ideology, collective mentality, personality). Of the external factors it is included: the international system, the actions of other states and common resources.

The concept of "foreign policy" must be viewed in the broader coordinates, in order to examine the internal sources, tools and models of development, because the set of these components may be changed over time and substantial influence on the character of state activity (Evans, 2001:76). Internal sources can be interpreted as ideo-political, socio-economic, institutional and bureaucratic sets. The set of ideo-political sources is implicit "the world picture" and its place within the state, social consciousness embodied in the acceptance of political elites, state leaders, based on which is formed the main ideas on the promotion of foreign policy. Social-bureaucratic sources involve aggregation of economic interests and material of individuals and social groups (Fisichella, 2000:39). The latter set of external sources of power requires a determined system of power, different for states in particular, and policy making apparatus.

The set of instruments to achieve foreign policy by the state may be quite large. From one end of the spectrum there is the use of force, directed towards providing interests of the state, including the methods of violence, namely the use of armed force. On the other hand, at the other end there is diplomacy, understood as a complex of instruments and non-violent methods to ensure state interests. According P. A. Ţăgankov, there are two ways that states can achieve their foreign policy: military strategies and diplomacy. The two complement each other and make up the foreign policy of the state. Other traditional forms of realization of foreign policy are: initiation, weakening or breaking off relations, opening representative offices in the state of international

and regional organizations as a member or participating in them, at different levels to achieve and maintain contacts with representations of other states, parties and movements with which the state has no relationship, but is interested in maintaining dialogue on solving problems. Analyzing the means to carry out foreign policy to achieve specific purposes we can include the following: political, economic, military, informational.

To the political means, first of all, the investigator assigns the diplomacy as the official state activity through specialized institutions, achieved through specific measures, procedures, methods, accepted by the position of international law and that have a legal-constitutional status (Plano, 1993:45). Diplomacy is done through negotiations, visits, conferences, bilateral and multilateral conferences, diplomatic correspondence, and participation in the work of international organizations.

By means of international foreign policy is understood the use of economic potential of the state to achieve its objectives. The state that has a strong economy and a high financial capacity, occupies an important place in the international arena. Even countries where the territory is small, don't have enough human and material resources, can play an important role in the world arena, if they have a basis and competitive economy, based on advanced technologies and are able to expand their achievements beyond the borders. Active economic means are embargo, the regime of most favored nation clause, providing investments, credit and lending or refusing to grant them.

By military means external policy envisages the state's military force – the army, the quantity and quality of weapons, the moral status of the military, the existence of military bases and nuclear weapons. Military means can influence both directly and indirectly towards other countries. To indirect means refers, according to the researcher, the arms race, which includes producing and experimenting with some types of new weapons, exercises and military maneuvers, developing effective methods of application of force.

The means of propaganda include the entire arsenal of contemporary media, propaganda methods, which are used to strengthen authority and to complete the image of state in the international arena, thus contributing to ensuring the confidence of allies and potential partners. Due to the mass-media, it is built a positive a favorable image of the state, or contrary it is expressed dissatisfaction to with certain events. Frequently the means of propaganda are used also for public opinion misinformation.

As for other non-state actors of international relations, such as church, transnational companies, etc. their external relationships are generally carried out, as a rule, outside of state foreign policy, being also a part of international politics.

Given that the number and type of international actors is continuously growing, now it can be hardly determined the goals of foreign policy. When referring to the states - the main actors of the international system - the main goal of their foreign policy is designed either as "providing their own interests by any means allowed", being extended to "insurance of international favorable conditions for realizing the interests of a state", or reduced to "promotion peace relations and good neighborly and integration into the global community" or understood in a more realistic – "States must do what is necessary (which circumstances so require) and thus sometimes evade obligations". In the latter respect, most countries promote their foreign policy objectives according to specific goals and interests arising from the fact that the international system, the regional geopolitical situation, as well as their own political considerations, historical, cultural and mentality of the elite (Miroiu, 2006:180).

State structures have specialized organs, competent in carrying out political activity, and of the control over these activities: Ministry of Foreign Affairs or External Relations, departments or parliamentary committees responsible for carrying out foreign policy, the embassies, containing specialists in military matters, economic (representatives of Chambers), scientific and cultural attaches, working under the supervision of embassies and representations abroad, on the basis of programs, formal or semi missions. Foreign policy, through the submitted goals, by the means and methods for achieving these goals reflect the internal situation of the state. It is based on available resources, also on the professional potential.

Government's foreign policy objectives are defined, promoted and justified to public according to certain goals and ethical finalities that governments share in order to achieve their interests, including maintaining state sovereignty and state independence or for security insurance and social welfare (Bellany, 2003:216). Sometimes, foreign policy may be, according to J. Holsti, an expression of charitable impulse that is to assist poor countries and victims of natural or humanitarian disasters.

In terms of international law and the affirmation of its basic principles, democratic values, including human rights and fundamental freedoms, the foreign policy of state must increasingly take into account more and more to develop and promote their interests both at external and internal level. Hence, states are forced to realize their foreign policy based on the following international principles:

- nonaggression or threat of force;
- settlement of international disputes by peaceful means;
- noninterference in internal affairs of other states;
- international cooperation;

- equal rights of peoples and their right to decide their own fate;
- sovereign equality of states;
- fulfillment in good faith the obligations assumed;
- inviolability of borders;
- territorial integrity of states;
- respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

After, J.K. Holsti, the value and maximum requirement of these principles is that “no state may seek to achieve, maximize and protect its objectives of foreign policy, thereby damaging the major interests of another state”. In fact, these principles are rather as external constraints, where states decide their own foreign policy on different considerations, in terms of: the degree of interdependence and interaction levels, political system, government system, the configuration of internal and external political, moral religious values, interests and political culture of elites, and other short term factors that influence or determine the changes of balance of power the status-quo.

However, foreign policy requires also the state activity in international relations system. This activity takes an undeniable importance. Especially in this contest, there are met the interests of states on the issue of disarmament, safeguarding state security, disaster prevention, combating terrorism and crime. The state makes its interests through political activity which is quite varied, and represents itself as an imperative attribute (Ciobu, 2006:29).

The political activity of state can be understood not only in a narrow sense, limited, as an activity in one or another area. Any social activity is oriented to a specific activity. It includes not only the practical actions of the subjects, but also it determines, develops goals and content of its activity. In the literature of speciality these sides differ and are analyzed separately: 1. the process of developing goals and content of political activity; 2. the policy making process. Directions and goals of political activity do not demand a distinction (in this case they form a whole) and here the political activity of states is investigated as a whole (Londsdale, 1999: 41). Especially in this sense, it is both “an agent” of relationship of interdependence between domestic political and socio-economic relations, and also of interstate relations. According to the Romanian political analyst Silviu Brucan, the foreign policy activity “spread” reactions to a series of internal and external incentives; it considers the nations as systems with inputs, outputs and feedback in constant interaction with the international environment. In his view the primary sources of foreign policy are included in the five variable sets: the natural and material bases, social structure and social forces, the state system, the management.

The first criteria of material-natural base include territorial size, geographical location and the forces of production. The social structure and

social forces include classes and social groups, the main relations between them, nationalities and nations, each with its ideology and consciousness, cultural and historical traditions, with psychological impulses and moods that make them work inside and outside the country (Wight, 1998:34). Economic and political crises, hits the state, elections, massive strikes, violence on large-scale, military hostilities and war are included in short term factors. State system includes the national a decision mechanism, the state apparatus and government, their power tools.

All these variables have an international dimension, necessarily reflected in how people and their leaders see the country's role in world politics. Beginning with territory size, geographical location and its resources, which all have a relative value compared with other countries, and reach the general criteria of development, which it has to be reported on international indices – all variables in of infrastructure acquire valuable of foreign policy development, only if they are measured on a global scale.

The foreign policy of a state has as support the economic, demographic, military, technical, scientific and cultural potential. Geopolitical location of the state during the historical evolution dominated in election by the state the partners and development its relations with opponents (Emandi, 1994:37). Conditions of geographical area are considered some of the basic causes, whose presence implies a certain political orientation of the state. Close correlation of geographic area - political, under the principle of causality, allows according to the researchers' concept the possibility of generalizations, law formulations and principles of universal validity data, which would help to found the theoretical geopolitics (Dobrescu, 2003:12).

Lying at the junction of three macro-regions – Central Europe, Balkans and CIS, the Republic of Moldova tries to find its place in the international arena.

Thus, through foreign policy it is understood the state activity in international affairs or state activity on international arena which rule relations with other subjects of foreign policy activity: states, parties, international and regional nongovernmental organizations. The foreign policy of the state must be understood as a specific historical category – it does not exist outside of space and time. The essence of spatial factor is that external world is a material world, which occupies a certain space, its characteristics that often create limits of political behavior within the given state. And the time factor is determined by those that foreign policy is state activity within a certain time. It has a practical character, that state, meanwhile, proposes its goals and problems to be solved.

3. Republic of Moldova in the context of international relations

Lying at the junction of three macro-regions – Central Europe, Balkans and CIS, the Republic of Moldova tries to find its place in the international arena.

Thus, under the “Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Moldova” (the main directions of activity, adopted on 8 February 1995, Nr. 368-XIII, as a priority of Moldova's foreign policy is considered to be strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty; ensuring territorial integrity; affirming the country as a factor of regional stability; helping to promote social and economic reforms necessary for transition to market economy and raising the welfare population; building the rule of law that would be secured and brought to international standards of fundamental rights and freedoms human rights, as well as of persons belonging to national minorities (Conceptia politicii externe, 1995).

Achieving these priorities, which consist, in fact, the essence of Moldova's foreign policy would help to ensure, according to major national interests of our state edification as an independent, unitary and indivisible one, which would maintain mutually beneficial relations with all countries (Politica externă... 2007). Strictly observing the principles and norms of international law recognized by the international community, in accordance with the Declaration on principles that govern the mutual relations between member states of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation between states, the UN General Assembly adopted on 24 October 1970 and the Declaration on the Principles governing relations reciprocal of the CSCE participating States Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed in Helsinki in 1975, Moldova will achieve its foreign policy based on the following principles: not having to force or threat of force, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in internal affairs other countries, international cooperation and equal rights of peoples and their right to decide their fate sovereign equality of states, fulfilling its obligations in good faith, the inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms .

In addition to the principles set out in the “Concept” the more directions are given under which Moldova will promote its foreign policy. These may be listed:

1. Development of bilateral interstate relations which will focus on:
 - a) Relations with CIS countries;
 - b) Relations with the countries of Europe and North America;
 - c) Relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and America.
2. Development of multilateral interstate relations focused on:

- a) Activity within the UN and other international universal organizations
 - b) Regional and sub regional cooperation.
3. Cultural and scientific International cooperation.

Among the main objectives of foreign policy at that time there are included the development of relations with CIS countries.

Also, as priorities for the Republic of Moldova are the bilateral relations with the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus (Roman, 2005: 67). The nature of relations depends largely on political stability and economic and political success reforms in our country. Under the existence of economic and spiritual relationships, the Republic of Moldova will maintain and develop ties of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with Central Asia and Caucasus countries - members of the CCI.

Our country will promote a policy of active cooperation within the CIS, in order to maintain peace and security both within the territory of the Community, as well as in the context of maintaining peace and security in Europe and worldwide (Cebotari, Saca 2007:78). Republic of Moldova will seek to deepen cooperation between CIS countries on respect for human rights field and norms of international law. Colliding with a range of economic issues, our country stands for an effective collaboration with CIS member states to overcome economic crisis, economic and trade relations development with them, on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, and believes the final aim of this collaboration to create a common economic space, based on market economy principles.

A major and future goal of foreign policy and of the Republic of Moldova is a gradual integration into the European Union. For the Republic of Moldova there are important relations with the countries of Central and Western Europe, which is very important because of their geographical position, economic potential, international prestige and the role of states in maintaining and strengthening peace, stability and security on the continent, also the support from Republic of Moldova in their socio-economic reforms promotion, strengthening its independence and integration into European and global structures (Moldova... 2010:33).

Another important direction is to establish and develop bilateral relations with countries of Eastern Europe (Ședința Colegiului... 2007:14). The experience of these countries in reforming the political system, building the rule of law and democratic transition to a market economy presents a particular interest for the Republic of Moldova. Our country has common interests with the Eastern European countries for its integration into international structures and maintaining security on the continent. A special place in relations with the countries of the Baltic States is common history, similar interests and problems.

There are no neglected relations with Scandinavia which will gain new impetus, primarily on economic and commercial plan.

In relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Republic of Moldova will develop and diversify bilateral cooperation with Japan, China, Iran, Korea, Republic of South Africa, Egypt, Mexico, Brazil and others. Relations with these countries should boost investments in the Moldovan economy, would contribute to the implementation of new technologies that would help the industrial development of our state, would diversify international relations and reinforce our country's economic positions (Grosu, 2008:167). Also, the Republic of Moldova does not exclude establishing and maintaining links with other countries on these continents in cases when national interests require it.

One of the main trends of the Republic of Moldova is the regional and sub regional cooperation. Especially through regional and sub regional cooperation our state will strengthen and will ensure its independence, national interests more effectively. A primary direction of foreign policy and national interest of the Republic of Moldova at the regional level is the activity within the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which in future may contribute to our country's integration into the European Community and to more complete use of OSCE mechanisms to ensure its foreign policy.

Adhering to the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, 1994 – OSCE) on 30 January 1992 and signing on February 26, 1992 of the Helsinki Final Agreement, the Republic of Moldova showed that directs its efforts towards building a free and democratic state, the path optimum security and prosperity are the opening to international cooperation and integration in European structures. On 4 February 1993 the OSCE Mission in Chisinau was established.

An important event for our country in reaching European standards in building the rule of law is its adherence on 13 June 1995 to the Council of Europe. The fact that Moldova became the first state in the CIS as a member EC is, in fact, a realization of its foreign policy. Becoming a full member of the Council of Europe, Moldova has pledged to implement reforms to ensure the rule of law, freedom and fundamental human rights, social welfare and protection of private property. Ensuring political and economic pluralism, the creation of judicial system of the nation, ensuring the impartiality of judicial institutions, continuous development of civil society - all these are obvious elements required to operate to promote human rights and universal human values nationwide. They have already become recognized and successes registered by the Republic of Moldova in harmonizing national legislation with the Council of Europe standards.

The Republic of Moldova will intensify its work in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the North Atlantic Assembly. In the context of cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), our country attaches special importance in terms of strengthening national security, regional and international activities under the program "Partnership for Peace". Thus, the first contacts with NATO were established after the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Moldova on 27 August 1991. In the first meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) on 20 December 1992 in Brussels, our country became a member of the NACC (Cebotari, Saca, 2007a:37).

Joined on 16 March 1994 in the "Partnership for Peace", our state, being the 12th country to join the program as a partner, has demonstrated its commitment to NATO that strives for peace and security in Europe. Relations have evolved gradually, becoming marked by a spirit of practical cooperation, trust and further development, Moldova participated in a series of military activities: under the "military-military" in 1993, the International Military Education (IMET) as well as a number of projects developed in cooperation with states such as Romania, Ukraine, Belarus. The current international situation requires new active behavior to Moldova, responsive to events taking place in the political arena (Tănase, 2001:27).

Another important direction for achieving its foreign policy, the Republic of Moldova considers cooperation at the sub regional level. Starting from the vicinity of the Black Sea and Danube Basin, the Republic of Moldova will actively collaborate in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). Thus, on 25 June 1992 at the initiative of Turkey government and as a result of meeting in Istanbul, together with other 10 countries participating in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Russian Federation, Georgia, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine), the Republic of Moldova signed the Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation, thus becoming a founding member of BSEC. By signing this Declaration the Republic of Moldova has, and must have, as a goal the country's participation to building a new Europe and its integration as an equal partner in the new European structure, the establishment a relation system with the international community, which would ensure stability and its economic, political and social prosperity.

Republic of Moldova stated its decision to use as better possibilities for expanding and intensifying cooperation with countries from the region say that principle. Becoming a member to the BSEC, Moldova can participate in the process of identifying, developing and carrying out projects of common interest in the fields of transport and agro-industry, science and technology, tourism.

However, the Republic of Moldova will benefit investments and capital flows, industrial cooperation through the promotion and protection of investment (Organizația...).

Becoming a full member of Central European Initiative (CEI) in 1996, the Republic of Moldova will try to deepen its relations with the European Union through a partnership at the political level and developing friendly relations and cooperation between Member States (Prioritățile...).

An important event of the Republic of Moldova activity has accession to the cooperation process in South-East Europe (PSEE) on 4 May 2006, and by signing in 10 October 2006 of the Charter of good neighbourhood, stability, security and cooperation in South-East Europe, becomes a full member of this political forum. The Republic of Moldova activity in PSEE focuses on enhancing the stability, security and good neighbourhood relations, deepening economic and trade relations, infrastructure modernization, communications and energy, investment promotion, cooperation in humanitarian field, as well as social and cultural in juridical field, combating organized crime and the illicit trafficking of drugs and arms, combating international terrorism.

Being the successor of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (SPSEE) and serving as operational support of the PSEE, the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) is based on its work to improve the partnership between participating states. Also RCC has the mission to facilitate European integration and / or Euro-Atlantic states from the Southeast Europe, including Moldova.

Adhering in 2007 to the Free Trade Agreement in Central Europe (FTACE), Moldova joined its efforts to build a free trade zone in Central and Southeast Europe until 31 December 2010. At the same time, it aimed to strengthen its and to create a market economy in conditions of European integration option.

As a result of awareness of common interests and goals with those of Georgia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan, Moldova became a founding member on 10 October 1997 of the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM. The objectives of this organization were focussing on the development and implementation of projects in economic, trade, transport, communications, financial cooperation, border, customs, and scientific field.

Also for our country are important the multilateral interstate relations (Section 2) within the universal international organizations, as well as of regional and sub regional organizations. Moldova's participation in international organizations creates real opportunities for collaboration with almost all countries in the multilateral interstate relations. The membership quality of these organizations complement and expand bilateral and regional mechanisms to

achieve national interests, access to global experience, to information, statistics, expert services, sources of technical and financial assistance.

International organizations can help to boost activity and increasing the role and influence of the Republic of Moldova in the world. The main direction of activity of the Republic of Moldova in international organizations is to participate in United Nations (UN) and its specialized institutions. The Republic of Moldova adheres to UN on 2 March 1992 the UN General Assembly Resolution 46 ASG 1223. This significant event occurred in less than a year since Moldova declared its independence and released itself on the transition to a prosperous and developed society. From this moment several UN agencies have begun their activity in our country. It should be noted that assistance programs have significant results in several important areas for the Republic of Moldova. Significant problems were registered in combating poverty, achieving democratic processes and governance efficiency, private sector development, child rights protection, health reforms, assistance to refugees and displaced persons as well as in other areas.

As a member of the UN, our country put efforts on increasing its activity in structures of peace keeping and world order, pays a great importance to this peacekeeping organization for settling and preventing regional, local and international conflicts, and strive for increasing the effectiveness of the UN sanction mechanisms, whose purpose is the more active involvement of organization to resolve problems related to maintaining world peace and security, real disarmament, environmental protection.

For economic, technical, scientific and cultural development Moldova will use the experience and resources of IMF, the World Bank, UNDP, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), other UN organizations and its specialized agencies. In this respect all the efforts of the Republic of Moldova will be channelled to use the UN opportunities as well as its specialized institutions for financial and advisory support which are organized within the country, the economic and cultural development and international cooperation in this field.

Recognition of the Republic of Moldova on the international arena has been the main issue of its foreign policy. Moldova is recognized by over 180 states; with 150 already of them are established diplomatic relations. In order to make efficient it interstate relations, there were opened more than 25 embassies, 35 diplomatic representations of foreign states and international organizations activate in Chisinau (Prioritățile...).

Finally, we note that a separate modality of international cooperation in the context of foreign policy, regional security cooperation already was

developed by the end sec. XXI, acquired different connotations, depending on the interest to which it is directed to serve them. It was one of the basic forms of interstate relations that aim to address questions of political, economic, cultural, scientific, technological and conflict issue, as the term a priori in this paper. We highlight the fact that regional cooperation is often confused with "foreign policies at the regional level, but the terms are not synonymous. In this respect, Moldova's foreign policy, on the other hand, sets goals, prescribes strategies and specific measures should be used to attain them. It can use secret agents, subversive actions, can declare war or impose their views through other violent actions, but at the same time, can use and peaceful cooperation, the only non-violent way to achieve its goals. Regional security system is therefore the country's main substitute for peaceful use of external actions against to the space where it could be used to force or subversive tactics, it is the tools of peaceful and peacemaker where two or more countries within a region negotiate a common foreign security policy.

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